20¢ MAY 8, 1950

New Republic

MERLE MILLER ON: "SEEDS OF TREASON"

THE GOMPERS HERITAGE

By GUS TYLER

NEW CLUE TO HEART DISEASE

By BRUCE BLIVEN

SOCIAL SECURITY NEEDS MODERNIZING

By JOHN J. CORSON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yardstick

¶ MICHAEL STRAIGHT, Editor of the *New Republic*, now on a coast-to-coast speaking tour, has been meeting and talking with many of our readers in the cities he has visited.

¶ He has renewed old acquaintances and formed new friendships with subscribers, some of whom traveled long distances to attend his meetings.

¶ From Kansas City he reports they all say substantially the same things about the *New Republic*:

It gives us the truth
It is enlightening
It is a yardstick for judging the press

¶ These have been the functions of the *New Republic* during its long period of service to American liberals. They are still its major functions.

¶ To know the truth, to have a more enlightened view of world affairs than can be obtained from the press, to know how to combat hysteria and reaction in your own locality, read the *New Republic*.

¶ An order form for you and for your friends is provided below. Please fill it out now.

SPECIAL GIFT ORDER FORM

TEAR HERE

The NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter gift subscriptions as checked below:

☐ 1 Year $6.50 ☐ 6 Months $3.25

Gift for_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State____

☐ 1 Year $6.50 ☐ 6 Months $3.25

Gift for_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State____

MY NAME

_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State____

Enter my own subscription for:

☐ 1 Year $6.50 ☐ 6 Months $3.25

☐ Check if renewal

I enclose $_____ Or ☐ Bill Me Later

(Please list additional gifts on separate sheet.)

Foreign and Canadian postage $1.00 per year extra.

5/8/50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MAY 8, 1950

5 The Administration Replies to McCarthy: An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 The London Meeting
6 Outlook for Social Security
7 Big Business Is Hoarding
7 Rent-Control Warning
8 Franco's Foot in the Door
8 McCarran Never Gives Up
8 Herblock Cartoon
9 Outside America
10 Social Security Needs Modernizing, by John J. Corson
12 The Gompers Heritage by Gus Tyler
15 New Clue to Heart Disease by Bruce Bliven
17 Harold L. Ickes
18 Books:
18 The Natural Success of "Seeds of Treason," by Merle Miller
19 Brief Comment
20 Theatre
21 Radio and Television
22 Music

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner
WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE SENATE'S soft dalliance with the Marshall Plan $3.1 billion aid bill should reach a vote Friday. Attendance and interest has been so low that the voting date was set a week ahead to find room on Senators' engagement calendars. Nothing in the dreary speeches since April 17 has changed a vote. Those listening to them ranged from 15 down to three. With a date fixed for voting, interest perked up. The Taft-Wherry economy-isolationist crowd hope to cut off a billion or so. Our guess is that they won't.

Truman starts Sunday on his "non-political" transcontinental merry-go-round trip. It will be a test of the nation's political temperature. With his speeches written and ready ahead of time, the President has been grinning like a cat this past week. Incidentally, the three-day Democratic rally in Chicago to which he supplies the climax on May 15 looks like the biggest political clambake ever held in an off-year election. All members of the cabinet save Dean Acheson will be there, plus 150 Democratic Congressmen.

We can't think of a better subject for Truman to speak on than the deficit. It now looks as though it would be between $7 billion and $10 billion. (Last year's: $5.4 billion.) European friends are beginning to ask how they can be sure America is in earnest about saving democratic institutions. We are willing to whoop up defense, but what of taxes to pay for it? If it isn't the President's business to tell the public about the galloping fiscal crisis, whose is it?

The Congressional "economy" drive, always largely hypocritical, has bogged down. Paul Douglas' crusade against "pork" was laughed out of the Senate; last week the House suddenly restored a political cutback for a quarter-billion dollars for veterans' hospital beds urged by Representative John Rankin which the VA says it doesn't need. Simultaneously, revised estimates of federal tax income show it's lower than expected. The House continues to claw off wartime excise taxes while defense costs are expanded. Two great forces are coming into collision: America's desire to win the cold war; her unwillingness to face the fiscal sacrifices necessary to do it. Pretty soon somebody has got to speak out. This column says that the only way to meet the issue is higher taxes.

It was quite a show last week in Congress—something like the recanting performance put on by Moscow, only this was voluntary. Irascible Representative Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, first beat his breast and reversed himself. Previously he had vigorously opposed a two-year draft-act extension; now he favored it. The same day Defense Chief Louis Johnson threw in the sponge. His slogan since taking office has been to reduce defense expenditures. He has repeated it endlessly; some have thought he was trying to run for President on the issue. He pulled the plug last week—publicly recanted and approved the Eisenhower recommendations for bigger spending in view of worsening world conditions. Symptomatic of Congress' mood was the committee's action in approving a $330 million defense increase after Johnson left.

Clad in a serge suit of undertaker's black, Earl Browder told the Tydings subcommittee he was "unemployed," didn't know why the Communists had chucked him out as leader and, in a voice of weary superiority, contradicted earlier testimony of ex-Communist Louis Budenz, now a Fordham professor. Once you get over your irritation at Browder's precise, pedantic and condescending air, he's quite interesting. He's obviously still a Communist at heart, grieving over dethronement. We can think of nothing that would help him back to party power faster than the threatened committee contempt citation.

Everybody had been giving Owen Lattimore a middle initial till Edward P. Morgan, the subcommittee's able counsel, who had supplied several different initials himself, formally announced for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sake of the legal record that Lattimore has no middle name. A minute later Morgan asked Budenz if he knew "Owen J. Lattimore." Nobody laughed.

As for Senator Joseph McCarthy, we must report that he is still going strong in his technique of confusion. It is proper to study it with care because it is an almost perfect demonstration of the technique by which Nazis and Communists gained their ends. McCarthy's nonsense is exposed again and again, but like a skater on thin ice, the Wisconsin Huey Long is safe so long as he keeps in motion. We suggest that some discerning publisher rush into print a blow-by-blow account of this incredible and terrifying episode. One example: A witness before the Tydings subcommittee on April 25 denied Budenz's testimony, but McCarthy stole the show by a sensational new charge. He asserted that Budenz in secret committee testimony (McCarthy excluded) had named a mysterious high official in the State Department. Result: splash headlines. Following his usual technique, McCarthy "revealed" the name in libel-free Senate proceedings 24 hours later: Haldore E. Hanson. Was it true? No. Speaking for the unanimous committee, Republicans and Democrats alike, Senator Brien McMahon (D, Conn.) declared McCarthy's assertion "not accurate" (*i. e.*, he lied). Does this overtake the original charge? Not at all. It is dangerous to underestimate McCarthyism. It is the first real use of the Hitler method in top public life and America's inability to handle it is evident.

Notes. Quoting the *New Republic's* demand for an investigation of the China lobby, Carleton Kent of the Chicago *Sun-Times* asked Truman if he favored it; Truman told the press conference it was up to Tydings. . . . One reason Taft offers for cutting British ECA aid is that Britain has balanced its budget; since America's budget is unbalanced, Taft seems to imply that Britain should pay us. . . . The Navy hopes to operate its atomic-driven submarine by 1952. . . . Mrs. Roosevelt is going abroad with Elliott and his children this summer; almost certainly there will be Communist demonstrations against her in Finland, which is now on her itinerary.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Voice for the Teachers

SIR: Because we know that your magazine takes note of all movements fighting intelligently for the extension of our democracy, we of the Teachers Guild are happy to call upon you to give us your very valuable aid.

Democracy in the schools needs to move ahead.

We of the Teachers Guild are striving toward this end. We know that democracy will wither unless it has forward motion.

That is why we are beginning the campaign for Teachers Councils in the schools of the land through which the classroom teachers can employ their experience and knowledge in coöperative sharing of the management of the schools together with the supervisory staffs.

If the teachers are excluded from this role the schools are deprived of that extension of the democratic frontiers which is long due.

MARTIN WOLFSON,
Democratization Committee,
New York Teachers Guild
New York City

More Than Sightseeing

SIR: Americans for Democratic Action is sponsoring study trips abroad this year. There will be programmed travel in Britain, the Scandinavian countries and a project which will include France, Austria and Germany. If there is sufficient response, there will also be a study trip to Palestine. The program will include summer schools; interviews with persons in politics, government, the labor movement; field trips to see housing, schools, factories. ADA Study Trips Abroad are designed for American liberals who want more than sightseeing. Cost will range from $680 to $890 (higher for Palestine) and travel will be via Youth Argosy chartered planes. For further information please write Mrs. Frances Adams, Director, ADA Study Trips Abroad, 1740 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C. MRS. FRANCES ADAMS

Food for China

SIR: The Lattimore-McCarthy exchanges highlight the fact that we Americans have basically conflicting ideas regarding United States policy toward China. On one thing I hope, and believe, we all can agree. The people of the United States will not turn their faces away those who are suffering from starvation.

There seems to be no doubt that famine confronts millions of Chinese men, women and children today. We, on the other hand, have enormous stockpiles of excess food both in this country and apparently in Japan.

Whatever else may be said about the "People's Government" in China today, its leaders have demonstrated over and over again their genuine concern for the livelihood of the people. Food turned over to them for the relief of the starving would be used for that purpose. One who has seen some of the evidences of foreign domination in China can understand the reason why the leaders reject the idea of supervision of the distribution of food or other materials for the relief of suffering.

I believe that the vast majority of the American people, given an opportunity to express their wishes, would want us to carry on the fine tradition of help to those in all parts of the world who have been the victims of famine, flood, fire or earthquake.

Can't we urge our policy makers to take this step at once without reservation or restriction? Whether such a move brings us immediate advantage or not is beside the point. It is one consonant with our national spirit and cannot fail to be of considerable significance in our relationship to the rest of the world.

ERNEST OSBORNE, President,
New York City China Aid Council

Response to the Atom

SIR: Your series on atomic control (the *NR*, April 3, 10 and 17) has added a valuable chapter to the clearer public delineation of US foreign policy in the field of disarmament.

Congratulations on your straight thinking and plain writing.

JAMES FINUCANE, Associate
Secretary, National Council for
Washington, D. C. Prevention of War

SIR: The atomic-energy editorial and the accompanying technical supplement are tops in both scholarship and journalism.

This issue of the *New Republic* should be in the hands of every editorial writer, commentator and social scientist in America.

THOMAS C. SORENSEN,
Director of News and Public
Lincoln, Nebr. Affairs, Station KLMS

SIR: Your issue of April 3, with its important article on "Breaking the Atomic Deadlock" and very telling supplement, should be put into the hands of every newspaper editor in the country. If we are to have "One World or None," it is certainly time that people take their responsibility as citizens and elect those men of mature minds who will see that we have One World.

MRS. CLARA STURGES JOHNSON
San Dimas, Calif.

A Correction

Pavlov: A Biography, by B. P. Babkin, reviewed in the *New Republic* of April 3, is published by the University of Chicago Press, and not by Harvard as our review stated.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 122, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1849, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 8, 1950 **New Republic**

THE ADMINISTRATION REPLIES TO McCARTHY

THE ADMINISTRATION a few days ago hit back, and hit back hard, at its current critics. Both Secretary Acheson and President Truman talked publicly about the present attacks on the State Department, the Secretary extemporaneously at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the President in a broadcast speech before the Federal Bar Association.

Acheson, after assuring his hearers that the State Department was never in better shape than now, lashed out at McCarthy and Company. First describing the orderly procedures in the Department for screening loyalty, he talked about "the wrong way" of doing this —meaning the one McCarthy is now employing:

> To smear everybody's reputation; to make charges on the basis that, if one is not right you try to find another one you hope will stick; to try to destroy the confidence of people in their Foreign Office and in their government in one of the most critical hours of this nation's history. . . .
>
> But I think what is going on is much madder and much more vicious than that. It reminds me more of that horrible episode in Camden, New Jersey, which happened not so long ago, when a madman came out on the street in the morning with his revolver. With no purpose and with no plan, as he walked down the street, he just shot people. . . . As I leave this filthy business, and I hope never to speak of it again, I should like to leave in your minds the words of John Donne in his *Meditations,* in which he says:
>
> Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

President Truman was not quite so bitter, but equally sweeping in defense. Every known case of subversion, he said, has been investigated; prosecution has followed wherever it was justified; if anybody knows of Communists in the government service, let him come forward and say so. He explained again why the files of the FBI must be kept secret (they contain, in addition to facts, much unverified rumor; opening them would make public the names of secret agents and secret operations).

> We are not going to transform our fine FBI into a Gestapo secret police. . . . We are not going to try to control what our people read and say and think. We are not going to turn the United States into a right-wing totalitarian country in order to deal with a left-wing totalitarian threat. . . . We're going to keep the Bill of Rights on the books.

America lives today in a tangle of loyalties which produces odd consequences. Until the present disgraceful, politically motivated Republican attack on the State Department, progressives were critical of the government's loyalty program, and justly so. Yet the wild charges of McCarthy and his friends have been so extreme that they have almost silenced the legitimate criticisms which were already being made. For the record, we should remind ourselves that if the loyalty program is not the total failure McCarthy says it is, neither is it as completely beyond criticism as the President insists. It has, to be sure, succeeded in routing out a few Communists in "sensitive" jobs (Republican Seth Richardson, head of the Loyalty Review Board, notes there were only 200 such people among three million government employees). But it has also done harm to great numbers of non-Communists, driven by fear into censoring their own acts, their reading, friendships, politics (to say nothing of the probability that some innocent people have been punished).

The President says "we are going to keep the Bill of Rights on the books"; but many people are being subjected to what is in effect a trial without the safeguards of the Fifth and Sixth Articles of the Bill of Rights, in that they are not told of what they are accused, or confronted with the witnesses against them, or allowed to have "compulsory process" to obtain their own witnesses, or the assistance of counsel, or a Grand Jury indictment, or access to the record of the hearings.

The President says the FBI will not be transformed into a secret police; yet its activities have for years, under the pressure of events, been moving in that direction.

The President promises that we won't "try to control what our people read and say and think"; but numbers of them have had their livelihood destroyed, their careers irreparably injured, for exactly these things.

It is the tragedy of McCarthy's "filthy business" that he has made it enormously harder for those of us who have been working to get the loyalty procedures back onto sound American principles. Even as President Truman repudiates McCarthyism, he throws another baby to the wolves behind the sleigh, through reopening, without new evidence, security cases already closed, permitting J. Edgar Hoover to tell a Senate committee "the substance" of what his files contain about Lattimore, and so on.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another tragic aspect of this matter is, of course, that it has taken up the time and attention of many important officials, including the Secretary of State and the President themselves, when they need all possible concentration of energy to deal with the world crisis. As Marquis Childs says in his syndicated column:

> While this divided government quarrels over the issue of Communism here at home, the flames of revolt and impending chaos are mounting higher in Asia. It is perhaps the costliest bit of fiddle-faddling history has ever seen.

He might well have added that the crisis in Europe, which is part of the same thing, is equally pressing.

There is plenty of evidence that McCarthy and his friends are well aware of the damage they are doing and that their actions are intentional. They know that the threat of Communism in the State Department is today a fictitious one. Their thinking is muddy and confused, but what they really want is isolationism in regard to certain parts of the world and open support of Fascism in others—in China, for example, where they want us to breathe life into the moribund Nationalist regime. It is part of the price we must pay for our democratic principles that we do not seem to be able, except through the final and sluggish power of public opinion, to prevent this sort of dreadful mischief.

THE WEEK

THE LONDON MEETING

Secretary of State Dean Acheson enters the London meeting with the Foreign Ministers of Britain and France determined on a new policy but foreclosed from putting it into immediate effect. Our State Department has decided that there must be economic and political unity, as well as military union, among the North Atlantic nations.

Although there has been no official admission of it, French Premier Georges Bidault's proposal of a new Atlantic council with military and *political* powers is to be the new major goal of our foreign policy in Europe. President Truman is scheduled to deal with this far-reaching idea in a speech this month. Before formal unveiling, however, Secretary Acheson must sell it not only to his Republican advisers, John Foster Dulles and former Senator John Cooper, but to France, which is extremely nervous about the higher status contemplated for Germany in the Atlantic union. The agenda of the Foreign Ministers' meeting is so comprehensive that even if these obstacles did not exist there would not be time to explore the possibilities of really close economic and political action in detail. Less than two weeks has been allotted for dealing with the whole range of world problems—the Japanese peace treaty, Western Germany, Spain, Southeast Asia and the Nationalist government of China.

For all these reasons the United States will go slowly at London. About all that is likely to be done at this conference is to set up a staff committee to consider how such a supreme Allied council would work. Henry A. Byroade, director of the State Department Office of German and Austrian Affairs, will be the key American member of whatever continuing group is established for that purpose. His general approach will be to expand the North Atlantic Pact from a purely military agreement into an instrument capable of forming basic policies on all matters involved in the prosecution of the cold war.

Underlying this new view of the problem is a growing pessimism among the top officials in Washington about peace. James Reston, of the New York *Times*, described the prevailing mood this way last week:

> The official line now is that the Soviet Union is not merely an annoyance, but a pestilence; and while nobody quite admits it, the Iron Curtain is slowly but surely being drawn across quite a few influential minds.

OUTLOOK FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

Social-security legislation is the one major domestic program that President Truman still hopes Congress will pass this session. (See "Social Security Needs Modernizing," by John J. Corson, page 10.) Having lost on middle-income housing, aid to education and other matters that touch great numbers of the people directly, Truman is counting on social security as a primary campaign issue this year. The Senate Finance Committee has almost completed work on HR 6000, the pending amendment to the Social Security Act passed by the House in 1949.

Last week the committee agreed to extend social-security coverage to 8.5 million more persons, in contrast to the 11-million increase voted by the House and the 20 million repeatedly requested by President Truman. The committee, headed by Senator Walter F. George (D, Ga.), narrowed the Administration's program by refusing to include 10 million farmers and farm laborers, 1.5 million persons in the armed services, about three million state and local government workers, and 1.5 million railroad workers. The Senate committee also cut from the House version 200,000 employees of religious organizations and refused to provide coverage for 200,000 clergymen—a small but highly controversial part of the bill.

Until now there had been some hope that farmers would be included. All the big farm organizations—the National Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the National Grange—have endorsed agricultural coverage. Both Democratic and Republican Congressmen, feeling that the farmers themselves are opposed to it, are afraid of the political results of the provision. The Senate committee agreed with the House in adding five million self-employed workers earning $400 or more a year, which will include salesmen, taxi drivers, industrial home workers, retail merchants and service-station operators.

The big fight in the committee will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come over the benefit levels and disability-insurance provisions. The success that the unions have had recently in $100-a-month pension drives, to be paid by their employers, has so frightened the big insurance companies (which fear that high-level benefits under social security will take the place of their private insurance plans) that they have a united lobby opposed to increasing the benefits.

Walter P. Reuther, UAW-CIO president, presented to the Senate committee a budget of $2,089 a year which he proposed as "an approach to an adequate standard of living for retired workers," and strongly urged the committee to consider permanent and temporary disability as well as old-age benefits. The disabled worker, Reuther said, "can become just as broke, hungry, cold, dispossessed and depressed as the unemployed brother or sister who is able to work, or the aged worker who has been forced to retire. . . . Without protection against loss of income due to disability, the program is not complete." Reuther warned that until Congress satisfied the human needs of workers in their old age, organized labor must continue to look upon the federal program as "sub-minimum," to which must be added supplemental pension provisions reached by collective bargaining with employers.

BIG BUSINESS IS HOARDING

American corporations will earn approximately $18.3 billion after taxes in 1950 compared with the $17.9 billion they earned last year, according to preliminary estimates made by President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers.

A routine statistical release by the Securities and Exchange Commission dated April 30 indicates, however, that these huge totals may not be the seeds of continued prosperity. Last year more than half of all corporate profits were held back from stockholders, presumably for the purpose of improving plant and equipment or otherwise adding to the efficiency of the corporations. SEC figures now reveal that, instead, American corporations piled up record hoards of cash last year which did the general economy no good at all.

Cash reserves and government securities reached the amazing total of $40 billion at the end of 1949. US companies had 72 cents in the bank or in government bonds for every dollar of current liabilities. Manufacturing corporations actually had more than a dollar in cash for every dollar of liabilities. Before the war, the ratio generally was no more than 45 cents to the dollar.

Corporations have turned their gains from tax reduction into liquid wealth rather than into expanded facilities for production needed to absorb our growing labor force.

RENT-CONTROL WARNING

Unless Congress extends rent controls another year, some 38 million tenants face rent increases when the present Act expires June 30. Rent control has been one of President Truman's key issues. In a special message to Congress earlier this year, the President said "a sudden and simultaneous removal of rent controls on a national scale would precipitate a wave of exorbitant rent increases . . . would reduce the purchasing power of millions of families. . . . The burden would be most serious for the one-fourth of our families with incomes of less than $40 a week."

Housing Expediter Tighe Woods brought the President's warning up to date last week. He appeared before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee with statistics to refute real-estate-lobby claims that controls hold back new construction of dwellings. He not only asked Congress to extend controls but also recommended a provision for restoring ceilings "when rents get out of hand" in areas which have been decontrolled by local action. In 12 cities where it was thought that the housing shortage had eased enough to permit the removal of rent control, tenants have been hit with average increases of from 26 to 50 percent. Woods pointed out that the heaviest burden was imposed on those families which were paying less than $30 a month for rent. In Dallas, Texas, 75 percent of these tenants had increases averaging 55.8 percent. In Knoxville, Tennessee, 63 percent had increases of 36.1 percent, and in Eugene, Oregon, 47 percent had increases averaging 34.6 percent.

"In the face of our present acute housing shortage, there would be an intolerable rise in rents if controls were removed on June 30," Woods said. "Chicago landlords have already gone on record as to the size of rent increases they would put into effect in the absence of rent control. In a case which they recently carried to the US Emergency Court of Appeals they contended that their evidence justified an increase in rent of 71.5 percent, but insisted that the court order an immediate increase of 45 percent with the statement that the 'balance should come through the operation of economic laws at the end of rent control'." These demands by the landlords of Chicago, where the overall vacancy rate is less than one percent, indicate what would happen in larger cities, he warned.

A recent survey made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that vacancy rates for habitable dwellings *for rent* are generally less than one percent and many are less than one-half of one percent. The rate was 0.4 percent in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis, Pittsburgh, New York City and St. Louis. And it was 0.1 percent in Kansas City and Minneapolis-St Paul. "With these low vacancy rates throughout the country, it is clear that new construction has not yet caught up with the backlog of housing demand. . . . They mean that many families are still forced to live in attics, cellars, shacks, Quonset huts, barracks, and other makeshift housing accommodations," Woods said.

Woods contradicted the real-estate argument that rent control affects the volume of new construction. For example, in Knoxville, in the seven months following decontrol, there was an increase of nine percent in the number of new houses authorized over the same months in the previous year, but in Nashville, which is still under rent control, the increase was 198 percent between the same periods. In Spokane, Washington, there was an increase of 72 percent following decontrol, but in Seattle, which is still under rent control, there was an increase of 75 percent during the same period.

Governors Chester Bowles, of Connecticut, and Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois, came to Washington to urge Congress to extend controls. Bowles told the committee that rent increases

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would reduce, "probably by as much as $1.5 billion a year, the purchasing power which the 11 million families (remaining under rent control) now are spending on food, clothing, house furnishings and other basic necessities . . . and further, a substantial increase in rents at this time would throw out of balance our whole price-wage structure and reopen the question of widespread wage increases." Stevenson said that if Congress fails to act, he will be forced to call the Illinois legislature into special session to pass a state control law.

Certainly the continuation of rent control for at least another year will provide an orderly transition to a free rental market and an orderly process of decontrol as each community meets its housing needs. The Senate is expected to act on the question by the end of this month. Hearings before the House Banking and Currency Committee are scheduled for next week.

FRANCO'S FOOT IN THE DOOR

A bare majority of the Senate rejected an ECA loan for Spain only after assurance by Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, that Franco could receive monetary credits from the Export-Import Bank. On the surface, the 42-to-35 vote against the McCarran-Brewster ECA Amendment allocating $100 million for Spain was a victory for the anti-Franco forces. However, Connally's speech was the first public announcement that both the White House and the State Department have no objection to giving Spain Export-Import credits. Such a loan would be a tremendous victory for Franco in the eyes of his people.

The Administration's lessening of its onetime strong opposition to credits for Spain was first evidenced early this year in a letter to Senator Connally from Dean Acheson. Written January 19, 1950, the letter stated, "While the United States Government definitely does not favor the extension of a general balance-of-payments loan to the Spanish Government to use as it sees fit, it is quite prepared to acquiesce in the extension of credits to Spain covering specific and economically justifiable projects."

Last year the Department specified three conditions to be met by the Spanish government if it wished to qualify for American financial aid: elimination of multiple exchange rates, cessation of discrimination against foreign capital, and elimination of the INI, a state organization competing with and forcing out free enterprise in Spain in favor of Falange and other political interests. So far as is known, not one of these conditions has been fulfilled.

The Administration has oposed ECA aid for Spain on the ground that the Marshall Plan is a coöperative venture and that the Western Europeans themselves should decide whether to admit Spain. Twenty-eight Democrats and 14 Republicans voted against the McCarran-Brewster Amendment. In favor were 21 Republicans, including Senators Homer Ferguson (Mich.) and Robert Taft (Ohio), and 14 Democrats, mostly Southerners. The defeat of the ECA loan was meaningless, however, coinciding as it did with the State Department's request that the United Nations extend full diplomatic recognition to Spain and preceding the approval by this country of large credits to the Spanish dictator.

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

VAMPIRE

McCARRAN NEVER GIVES UP

Senator Pat McCarran (D, Nev.), whose discriminatory amendments to the displaced-persons bill were soundly beaten by the Senate, has found a new way to get them onto the statute books. Last week, he quietly introduced an impressive 248-page bill to revise the immigration and naturalization laws. Hidden beneath a mass of technical verbiage are all of the anti-immigration provisions which he failed to persuade his colleagues to accept in the recent DP debate.

The measure would limit the immigration quotas of each country in this way: 30 percent must be foreign experts needed in defense or other essential industries; 50 percent must be parents of adult American citizens; 20 percent must be the parents, wives, husbands or children of alien residents in this country; and if any of the above percentages are unused, up to 10 percent can be applied to the "non-preference" class. Immigrants who would have to be supported by others would be excluded as public charges and those able and willing to support themselves by work would be excluded as competing with American labor.

The McCarran bill incorporates the provisions of the deportation and detention bill which Representative Sam Hobbs (D, Ala.) has long been sponsoring. It gives immigration officials authority to detain aliens subject to deportation. Deportation of Americans of foreign birth could be based on the violation of any law, including municipal traffic regulations. Where no law has been violated, immigration and consular authorities are given discretionary authority to deport aliens to any country willing to accept and dispose of Americans of foreign origin.

Hearings on this measure will begin before the Senate Judiciary Committee early in June. There is little chance that McCarran will get by with this latest attempt to exclude and deport immigrants if the Senators read the provisions of his bill carefully.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUTSIDE AMERICA

In the European context, the project of Senator William Benton (D, Conn.), former advertising executive, for a "gigantic Marshall Plan of ideas" does not seem quite as good an idea as it does on Capitol Hill and in Radio City. All sorts of products of America's assembly-line technology remain welcome to European anti-Communists. But at this juncture of history, ideas definitely are not among desired imports from America. Above all, the Europeans do not want "full-throated" explanations of "principles" that "underlie" American foreign policy.

It does not seem to Europeans that the Americans have thus far been exactly whispering their ideas. Nor do Europeans think any increase in decibels will make a better market for such ideas. Packaging and salesmanship will not help either. It may be unpleasant news on Capitol Hill, but it is nevertheless a fact that more and more Europeans no longer want—even as gifts—explanations of underlying principles. They want changes in the practice of American foreign policy.

From the European point of view, there are, moreover, serious flaws in the basic assumptions of Benton and like-minded Americans—for example, Frank W. Altschul, the former banker, who is setting up a "Radio Free Europe" on behalf of some rich Americans. Benton believes "the real battle" between Communism and Democracy is "the fight for the minds of men." He wants to "turn the tide that is running against America in many areas of the world"; to "close the mental gap between ourselves and the people of the world"; to "close the gap through which Communism is now pouring its deadly poison into the minds of mankind." Altschul believes "there is much that private initiative can accomplish in the battle for people's minds."

These schemes and others like them, such as Wallace Carroll's project to use the Trojan Horse technique within the Soviet Union, are products of the American experience in World War II. Europeans regard them as the brain-children of neophytes and amateurs. Tides of ideas will not be turned by such men.

For they confuse slogans with ideas and then assume that the slogans of yesteryear are the effective ideas of this year. It has not been the practical experience of Europeans with great wars that they really begin in the minds of men. Causal factors have been material, rather than psychological. Feelings have played a greater part than thinking. The freedoms for which men fought have been from servitudes of more than the mind, of the spirit, of the soul.

It has also been the European experience with propaganda (which began long before Pope Urban VIII founded the *Propaganda Fide* in 1623) that of itself and by itself it could never cause or prevent wars. Propaganda is exclusively an exploiter, and "the real battle" is always in the material area of conduct and misconduct where propaganda gets its exploitable slogans.

Europeans have had, of course, relatively little practical experience with the miracles of American advertising. But they know enough about their own sales resistance to doubt the political efficacy of placarding every European roadside with billboard blasts for American democracy, of piping "The Star-Spangled Banner" into every European home by Muzak, or of creating "a world of broadcasting networks strong enough to reach almost every radio set on earth."

Benton's proposal can be dismissed by Europeans as just another of those strange ideas that come from America. What can't be brushed aside by Europeans fighting a defensive rear-guard action against America's detractors is the support given to it by internationally minded Senators with liberal leanings. David Sarnoff's motive for support is clear and understandable: he sells radio sets and radio programs. But men like McMahon, Douglas, Lehman and Vandenberg surely cannot be motivated by the belief that a louder American voice will—at this historical moment—help America's cause.

The New York *Herald Tribune*, commenting on Secretary Dean Acheson's plea for "total diplomacy," remarked:

> The United States has no desire to emulate the Soviet Union, whose leaders may speak with many tongues, but only one voice . . . whose control over channels of communication permits it to emphasize either half of its divided public personality at will—to be Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in dizzying alternation. A true democracy must think aloud, must debate and must criticize. But it must also have faith in its own purposes. . . .

Will Europeans who are losing faith in America's practical leadership because American policy has promised more than it could perform be given back their faith by one-voiced propaganda? Is it wise to launch such propaganda at a time when America's public personality seems divided, when debates and criticisms become exaggerated in their passage over the Atlantic into a suggestion that the Americans are losing faith in themselves?

European friends of America think not. If American propaganda is not to create the impression that it is shouting down America's own doubts, the gaps of ideas within America had better be closed first. If any focusing of total resources is needed to win battles of ideas, it had better begin at home.

To Europeans, it seems that the widest gaps through which Communism is now being permitted to pour its poison are not in the Iron Curtain. They are in the division of purpose in America and in the self-defeating subterfuges by which an out-of-date policy is to be glossed over by iterations of eternal ideas; they are in the neglects and betrayals of democracy that America seems to condone (if not foster) in the free world which American policy proposes to unify and fortify.

A thunderous soft-soap opera, bellowed daily, hourly, over a radio network, won't drown out the rising sounds of reaction in Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, and the continuing sound of even worse reaction in Germany, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Democracy is fast becoming a no-man's land in continental Western Europe between the vanguard of an advancing neo-reaction and the bunkers the Communists are building for a future test of strength which won't be in the minds of men.

PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOCIAL SECURITY NEEDS MODERNIZING

by John J. Corson

As the number of aged Americans increases, our social-security system is gaining in economic and political significance. Today Congress is waging a losing battle to keep up with the growing needs of Americans for social security and their efforts to meet these needs through private schemes.

Passage of social-security legislation was a major achievement of the House of Representatives last year. This year the changes proposed by the House are likely to be approved by the Senate and made law. They will make life easier for millions of Americans. Yet they are patchwork, inadequate reforms.

If Senate and House can agree, these changes are imminent in the Social Security Act:

A minority of those not now covered by Old Age and Survivors Insurance will be included—some of the self-employed, full-time domestics, some salesmen, a few farm workers, and the employees of non-profit churches and schools and the employees of state and local governments *if* their employers agree.

Present insurance benefits, generally agreed to be utterly inadequate for retired workers, widows and orphans to live on, will be increased, roughly, about 70 percent.

Workers forced into retirement by physical disablement before they have reached 65 will be given benefits much as those who don't wear out until after 65.

More money will be authorized to aid the states in providing assistance for those aged, orphaned and blind—perhaps the disabled, too—who are in need and seek relief.

There is no denying that these patchwork amendments will constitute progress or that the progress is urgently needed. Congress hasn't done as much patching up since 1939. At that time controversy over the "old-age reserve" forced extensive and constructive amendments. But even before those amendments were enacted, 10 years ago, a non-partisan Advisory Council recommended that *more* be done. Since then the Social Security Administration and the advisory council of the Senate Finance Committee have repeatedly urged a thorough reorganization of our social-security concepts.

Compare these oft-repeated recommendations and the changes that seem destined to be approved this year:

Who should be covered? Repeatedly it has been recommended that *all* gainfully employed persons should be covered, and particularly farmers, agricultural workers and domestic servants. In contrast, the House proposed to cover something less than 10 million of the 25 million workers not now protected by Old Age and Survivors Insurance. The Senate Finance Committee last week said instead it would extend the Act to cover only the urban self-employed, some domestics, and a few others—in total perhaps five million.

How large should the benefits be? Each year it has been recommended that the prevailing benefits, established in 1939 when prices were lower, should be raised. Under the present law a worker who retires after 20 years with an average monthly wage of $200 receives a benefit of $42 a month. It is unlikely that Congress will raise this above $70 a month. At that level, many retired workers will still receive less as insurance benefits than their needy neighbors may receive as old-age assistance.

What protection for disabled workers? The problem of totally and permanently disabled workers, too, was recognized as early as 1939. Since then, more and more workers have "retired" because they could no longer work. Many "retire" *before* their sixty-fifth birthday. After repeated recommendations, Congress is likely to provide benefits, scaled down to discourage malingerers, for some of these unfortunates.

How many will find security in relief? The men who wrote the Social Security Act clearly intended that public assistance based on need should be gradually replaced by insurance benefits based on employment in covered jobs. With increasing urgency it has been proposed in recent years that the old-age-assistance payments be limited and the insurance system extended. Yet more aged persons still receive assistance than are entitled to insurance. The prospective amendments will eventually make more eligible for old-age insurance and immediately increase the funds available for old-age assistance. There is little prospect that this year's amendments will be able to curb the irresponsible expansion by several states of their "give-away" old-age-assistance programs, pending the time when old-age insurance can be effectively established.

If Congress enacts the changes I forecast, we shall be substantially better equipped as a people to care for those who are disabled, old, widowed or orphaned than we were two decades ago. But can we afford to make progress so slowly?

The actions of two groups show that time is running out. The first of these is the great body of organized workers. The unions are demanding, with increasing frequency, that employers supplement the inadequate provision by government for their security. The second

---

John J. Corson, now an executive of the Washington Post, was formerly director of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and of the United States Employment Service. Born in the nation's Capital, he has three degrees from the University of Virginia. He has contributed to many magazines and is the author of several books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

group is the Townsendites, the followers of the new California apostle, George McLain, and all the politicians who prey on the aged. The two run parallel in that they make capital of the inadequacy of existing old-age-insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

Many pressures are leading to industrywide pension systems. Employers find them easier to grant than further wage increases. Highly organized industrial workers realize not only that the rate of Congressional progress is intolerably slow and that a Congress dominated by representatives of rural areas will not vote benefits large enough to meet the needs of urban workers, but that employers can be forced to agree (in substantial part, at the consumer's expense) to larger benefits than are likely under the best political circumstances.

Four million workers now enjoy the protection of union-sponsored health, welfare and retirement plans, with the employers paying all or most of the bill. The United Mine Workers led the procession, and has just succeeded in obtaining still larger contributions to its welfare fund. The United Automobile Workers won a pension from Ford of approximately $100 a month—without a strike. The United Steelworkers struck to gain similar pension and welfare provisions.

These victories and those of other unions represent tremendous gains and forecast similar gains for other strongly organized workers. Moreover, the provisions of the Ford and steel-company plans have the incongruous result of making these employers advocates for increased federal old-age-insurance payments. Both have agreed to pay their workers the amount needed to supplement old-age-insurance payments up to about $100 a month.

But the gains of these strongly organized workers pose serious questions as to the security of all American aged in the future. Emil Rieve, chairman of the CIO Social Security Committee, recently told the Senate Finance Committee, "It is no part of our philosophy to win pensions for our members only, leaving the rest of the population to look out for itself. We want adequate pensions for all; and we are convinced that our efforts are helping to get them." The unorganized workers have a great stake in Rieve's assurances. Without the vigorous and continuous support of organized labor, progress may be even slower than in the past. For unorganized workers, this will be disastrous. Even organized workers will in the long run find their prospects of security in old age undermined.

No private employer possesses the great resources of government. The cost of private pensions discourages employers from hiring workers over 40. Still more important, many workers are, and all workers should be, free to move from job to job as opportunity makes this desirable. Under private pension programs they can rarely take along their protection for old age.

The second pressure piling up behind Congress is the pension movement itself. There are more than 11 million American citizens over 65. Twenty-four percent of them are dependent on old-age assistance, as relief. The number receiving such assistance has increased from 1.1 million in 1936 to 2.8 million in 1950. The total paid by federal and state governments to needy aged persons in this way was $155 million in 1936; in 1949 the aggregate expenditure exceeded $1,400 million. This trend makes old-age insurance seem steadily less important. It makes relief seem more probable for most aged Americans, and leads to constant pressure for an expensive flat general pension, demanded by those who want something better than means-test security for the aged.

Finally, the step-by-step approach to building a national social-insurance system makes the law complex and cumbersome. Since not all gainfully employed persons are covered, complicated fine print is necessary to define the conditions under which different groups are "eligible" for benefits. As each new group of workers is included—*e.g.*, full-time domestic servants this year—new provisions must be included as to when they are eligible, as distinguished from those who have been included earlier. The certainty and security that workers might enjoy if their rights were stated simply and clearly are whittled away as the law gets more complicated.

What sort of social-security program is wanted in this country? Some contend that a minimum of subsistence for those who are in need is enough. Senator Taft has argued that government should provide security for those who need it, but has no obligation to those who are not in need. Yet the most insecure in our society today are self-supporting families with small incomes—$250 a month and less. The impoverished are fairly well looked after by state and local welfare agencies; they are assured subsistence, shelter and medical care. But the low-income families, with pride enough to want to maintain themselves, now can expect much less in insurance benefits than will be received by those unfortunates who turn to relief. These low-income families, moreover, have little in the way of family resources with which to make ends meet in case of unemployment, a serious illness or permanent disablement, or in old age or after the death of the breadwinner.

The primary source of social security will always be a stable economy and a high level of employment. No advocate of social security would trade jobs for benefits. And it must be made increasingly clear to the American people that jobs offer the aged better security than any pension. The American economy cannot now or in the foreseeable future guarantee an adequate benefit, say $100 a month, for every person aged 65 and over. There are only eight persons of productive ages (20-64 years

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of age) in the population today for every person over 65. A generation hence, there are likely to be only five persons in the productive age group to every person over 65. As a people, we cannot afford compulsory retirement of all at 65. Private pensions and the political pension panaceas which prescribe this course would condemn millions of the aged to years of frustrating idleness, would waste their skills and experience and saddle the economy with an unjustifiable cost.

What is needed is jobs for all who can work, and adequate insurance benefits—not relief—for all who are unable to work or to find jobs. The authors of the Social Security Act foresaw at least the outline of this goal. Successive advisory councils in 1939 and in 1947 have reconsidered the need and affirmed the course charted by this law. Every year, social-security officials have recommended essential legislative steps toward this goal. It is high time Congress took bolder steps.

First, Congress should convert the existing social-insurance system into the comprehensive type of protection that Americans need: by extending the existing system to cover *all* gainfully employed persons.

Second, we should face up now (before the burden becomes overwhelming) to the challenge of the millions already over 65, out of work, and dependent on their families, friends or government.

During the forties, these oldsters demonstrated unmistakably their political, financial and social significance. During the fifties, they may commit this country to a ruinous annual handout, burdening their descendants for generations to come, if steps are not taken now.

The precedent has already been set. During the war we assumed that each man in the armed services would have been employed in a job covered by old-age insurance if he had not been in uniform. Hence, Congress authorized an automatic credit of $160 to his individual old-age-insurance account for each month he served his country. Let us, in similar fashion, assume that every person now 65 years or over would have worked in an insured job and earned at least $80 a month during the last five years if he could. Hence, let us credit his account with $80 a month for the past five years. This would entitle him to a benefit of $40 a month if he is now out of work, and more if he continues to work and to build up his wage credit.

Old-age-insurance benefits are being paid now to many who have been employed in insured jobs only for brief periods since 1937. Why not extend this borderline? Let us give the benefit of the doubt to those who never had a chance to contribute their payroll taxes, and to those who were already old when the Act was written or worked in uninsured jobs. We should simply assume that they would have contributed if they had had the chance, and cover *all* gainfully employed in the future. Thus we could assure every American at least a minimum subsistence and relieve him of the necessity of humbly asking for relief. The federal government would assume a substantial cost, but simultaneously it would be relieved of a financial burden of almost $1 billion a year, now provided in grants to match state payments of charity to the aged. This would give the needy oldsters in each state basic support, and would permit the state governments to supplement this basic insurance in any way they chose.

THE GOMPERS HERITAGE

by Gus Tyler

FEW LABOR LEADERS in America more rightfully earned the title of "intellectual" than did Samuel Gompers, for 40 years president of the American Federation of Labor that is this year celebrating his centennial. Yet the best part of his ideological skill was developed in a war against the intellectuals of his day, especially those who fringed or infiltrated the labor movement. To Gompers, the intellectual reformer was a will-o'-the-wisp, a too loquacious schoolmarm; to the liberal and radical "thinker," Gompers was a parochial fuddy-duddy, a proletarian stuffed shirt. Thus did matters stand between the trade-union practitioner and the leftish intelligentsia for many years; and thus —with slight modification—do they stand today.

The Gompers Centennial Celebration is a conscious effort on the part of the AFL to identify itself as a heavy contributor to American democracy: to prove through the life and works of Samuel Gompers that the unions are genuinely concerned with the commonweal and not merely with narrow trade conditions. Perhaps, too, this is the opportune moment for the "liberal" to discover, through a reëvaluation of Gompers, the common ground for a more stable liberal-labor political alliance.

Gompers was passionately devoted to ideas, an appetite that the immigrant Jew from London was able to feed through the accident of his trade. In the quiet of the cigar-making shops, one worker was detailed to be the "reader," breaking the work monotony with passages from Marx, Bakunin, Greeley, the *Volkszeitung* or the 1870 prototype of Drew Pearson. When the reading halted, a babble of hot argument broke loose among the anarchists, socialists (Marxian v. Lassallean), positivists; the refugees from the Paris Commune, the Bismarckian edicts, and the Mexican counter-revolution. Such a master of disputation was the onetime revolu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionary Swedish sailor, the former secretary of the Scandinavian sector of Marx's International Working Man's Association, the cigar-maker Karl Malcolm Ferdinand Laurrell, "the man whom," said Gompers, "I loved most and for whose brain, heart and character I have always had boundless admiration."

Laurrell molded Gompers. In his young shopmate, Laurrell saw a natural organizer, a congenital joiner, the founder and backbone of half a dozen fraternal societies. The older man appreciated Gompers' interest in these little clubs and his desire to do something concretely for individuals—here and now; yet the old revolutionary teased the young man about his overweening concern with these petty outfits. He goaded Gompers into the quest for an ideology.

The first big eye-opener was the *Communist Manifesto*. "It brought me an interpretation of much," wrote Gompers, "that before had been only an inarticulate feeling." He was so inspired that he promptly tutored himself in German and proceeded to read Marx, Engels, Lassalle and others in the original—no mean intellectual feat for a long-laboring cigar-maker with a family to feed and half a dozen organizations to nurse.

Out of this ideologic milieu and out of his personal experience, Gompers formulated his first and most enduring idea: the need for a stable organization of wage earners. And therewith, he broke with the dominant social reformers of his day. To Gompers, *the* class organization was the trade union, differing from the all-inclusive Knights of Labor who welcomed all "producers" except bankers, lawyers and barkeeps, and distinct from the equally conglomerate political-reform movements. To Gompers, the strike was the way to win; the contract was the way to hold. High dues and mutual aid were the cement to bind the union together through every phase of the swiftly whirling business cycle. This was Gompers' contribution to the labor movement: a definite wage-earner organization operating through a set of institutional devices far more obvious today than 80 years ago—and even today more thoroughly developed in the US than in Europe.

To Gompers, building the trade union was an *idée fixe*, pursued with the typical passion of an autodidact who has personally uncovered an eternal truth. Union meant salvation: higher wages would conquer poverty; shorter hours would bring culture; *self*-liberation would mean self-respect. The union could do all because, argued Gompers, in a curious paraphrase of a Marxian dogma, "economic power is the basis upon which may be developed power in other fields. . . . Whoever or whatever controls economic power directs and shapes development for the group or the nation." Hence, insisted Gompers, economic power is most certainly superior to political power.

Although Gompers subordinated political to economic influence, he was not—as some careless critics have maintained—either anti- or apolitical. He was opposed to labor's committing itself to any one party, even and especially the Socialist Party, which was a major force in the first decades of the AFL. Laurrell had advised Gompers to study Marxism but to avoid the Marxists because party affiliation would mean party-line duplication of European forms. Gompers' concept of autochthonous labor politics for America was endorsement on a nonpartisan basis. This policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies" is today the official strategy of both the AFL and the CIO and is more thoroughly accepted than at any other time in American labor history.

In practice, Gompers was reluctant in his early years to devote too much time to this policy. First, because he was dubious about the worth of social legislation. (Twice he had seen a New York law outlawing manufacture of cigars in tenements declared unconstitutional—after years of agitation for its adoption.) Second, because he feared that the limited leadership in the unions would be sucked off into political work. (Gompers formed the Economic and Sociological Club, composed of labor leaders pledged never to accept any paid post in government or business.) Third, because he feared that working people would transfer their hopes and basic allegiance to political parties led by "intellectuals" who proposed legislative panaceas for the solution of all man's ills.

Nevertheless, to the extent that the meager energies of the trade unions of the nineteenth century would allow, Gompers went into politics. In 1886, he threw himself into the Henry George campaign (Independent Labor Ticket) for Mayor of New York City and served as head of the Speakers' Bureau. In 1893, he was a candidate for New York's Constitutional Convention. But in 1894, he refused a Republican bid to run for Congress —in line with his pledge to the Club.

At the turn of the century, the American Federation of Labor faced a situation strongly resembling labor's present status in regard to the Taft-Hartley Act. In 1902, the National Association of Manufacturers launched a punitive campaign against pro-labor Congressmen. By 1904, they scored major victories, enough at least to encourage the courts to fire a heavy volley of anti-labor injunctions. In 1906, labor retorted by presenting its Bill of Grievances to the President, the President Pro-Tem of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House: the Bill called for an eight-hour law for government employees, immigration restriction, exemption from the Anti-Trust Act, relief from injunctions,

Gus Tyler is Political Director for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

etc. This Bill of Grievances became the basis for the AFL's non-partisan Congressional campaigns. Central labor bodies were instructed that where both parties ignored the Bill, a straight labor candidate was to be run. In 1906, labor won a moral victory in Maine's Second District, when it cut down Representative Littlefield's majority from 5,449 to 1,362. In 1908, labor won an actual victory by defeating Representative Jenkins of Wisconsin, reactionary chairman of the then all-powerful House Judiciary Committee. By 1910, labor had elected 15 card-holding unionists to Congress (11 Democrats, three Republicans, one Socialist) and had enough influence to get William B. Wilson, former secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, appointed chairman of the House Labor Committee.

The election of a Democratic Congress in 1912 and of Woodrow Wilson as President was viewed with the same sense of achievement by labor as was the election of Truman and a Democratic Congress in 1948. The difference in what followed, however, is striking: the period from Wilson to Roosevelt was one of comparative political inaction by labor, with the one major exception when the AFL backed La Follette for President in 1924; the immediate post-1948 period is replete with political action by labor on a scale hitherto unprecedented. The difference is not accidental, but is based upon the changed attitude of the AFL and of the entire labor movement toward "the state."

Gompers believed that organized labor was justified in going into politics vigorously if it did so to protect its legal right to organize, to strike, and to operate effectively on the industrial front. The political démarche of 1906-12 was directed primarily against the use of the injunction, especially as misapplied under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Other legislative goals were: (1) Chinese exclusion and immigration restriction, both of which ran contrary to Gompers' deep-rooted internationalism but which were viewed as necessary to protect strikers against imported scabs and to protect working conditions against coolie labor; (2) elimination of convict labor, a competing low-pay area beyond the long organizational arm of the unions; (3) the right of government employees to petition. Practically all these legislative goals were attained in the Wilson Administration.

The AFL did not wish government to go far beyond this point—the legislative guarantee of the right to conduct a trade-union struggle under "fair conditions." It is true that Gompers favored a legal eight-hour day, but only for government employees, who could not get a shorter work week except by legislation. As Wilson took office, the Seattle convention of the AFL (1913) resolved "that the question of the regulation of wages and the hours of labor should not be made the subject of laws through legislative enactment, excepting in so far as such regulations affect or govern the employment of women and minors, health and morals, and employment by Federal, State or municipal government." This negative attitude toward government as an instrument of economic reform was a strange admixture of Old World revolutionary dogma on the class character of the state (Gompers was certain that the Sherman Act would become an anti-union act—as it did); of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian notions on the evils of Leviathan government; of a native rugged-individualist attitude applied to the collective efforts of a working class to improve its status. To all this, Gompers gave the name Voluntarism.

Labor's political revival in 1948 was stirred, as in 1906, by the legislative efforts of the NAM to fetter the unions, this time through the Taft-Hartley Act. But the revival took place in a new era, during which the Rooseveltian concept of "positive government" had infiltrated labor's thinking.

Labor's new attitude toward "the state" means a new political approach in two major respects. First, government is viewed as a logical instrument for economic and social legislation, whether it be for a wage-and-hour law, for unemployment or old-age or sickness insurance, for public housing and public power, for a Brannan Farm Plan. Second, the attempt to make positive use of the government to speed and extend labor's reformation of the total society provides a continuous and long-range basis for political work. This means *permanent* political work, hence more thorough and effective political action, with precinct captains and ward organization.

Labor's politicalization also means a new relationship to other groups in society. The foundation and development of the American trade union was a process of *separation* and *crystallization*. The AFL sought to set up a class organization of wage earners apart from the anti-monopoly and coöperative-minded small businessmen and self-employed artisans of the Knights of Labor and distinct from the free-soil and easy-credit movements of the farmers. The present tendency is in reverse: to seek an *amalgam* with farmers and small businessmen on a broad political platform of social legislation.

Likewise, labor is ready for a new attitude toward the "intellectual." In its first days, the AFL shunned the intellectual because this "thinker," with his easy total solutions, was a siren to lure working people from their long journey to a trade-union home. Today, the trade unions are sufficiently secure not to regard the intellectual as a competitor. What is more, labor needs the educated non-manualist: first, to assist in elaborating a program in this complex economic society; second,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to help organize the "middle-class vote." On their side, the intellectuals have changed: first, by their conscious attempt to be practical, to identify themselves with the "main stream of American politics"; second, by their new ideological flexibility discovered in the conveniently ambiguous concept of the "mixed economy."

All this does not mean that the trade-union leader and the liberal intellectual see eye to eye. The former tends to think of the next step, the latter of the final goal; the former is more concerned with the organization and its dues-paying members, the latter with society and mankind; the former is an improviser and compromiser, the latter a planner and absolutist; the former is always more aware of the historic drag of ignorance and tradition, the latter more fancy-free and iconoclastic; the trade unionist deals with the worker as an individualized fact, the latter thinks of the worker as social force; the former deals with the proletarian, the latter with the proletariat.

The Gompers Centennial is, in a sense, labor's formal debut into American society. The intellectual has been invited and one hopes that the sophisticate, appreciating the solid ancestry and character of the debutante, will not pronounce her gauche.

NEW CLUE TO HEART DISEASE

by Bruce Bliven

FROM CALIFORNIA comes a piece of medical news which seems of unusual significance. We now have the most important clue ever discovered to the most important of all types of "heart disease," a term which of course embraces a number of impairments of the circulatory system.

Everyone knows that in the United States, heart disease, in its various forms, is the greatest killer among human ailments. More than 600,000 people die of it every year; cancer kills only a third as many, pneumonia one-tenth, tuberculosis one-thirteenth. One American in every 20 has some form of heart or arterial damage; at least 150 million working days are lost each year because of it.

Up to now, not much has been done for the victims of heart disease, largely because we have not understood its precise cause. Sufferers from the various types have been told to reduce their weight, and not to work hard, or get excited or angry. They have been advised not to use tobacco, and to be moderate with coffee, tea and alcohol. Medication has consisted largely of stimulants like digitalis, and anticoagulants to retard clotting, such as dicumarol, heparin, and tromexan. Recently, anemia has been energetically fought in people with heart conditions, because it is known to encourage clotting. Some success has been reported with administering choline, a member of the Vitamin B complex, and a hot dispute is raging over the value of Vitamin E.

An inflammatory heart condition has been relieved with the antibiotic, aureomycin. A new type of sulfanilamide is said to be useful in cases of congestive heart failure. Dramatic experiments have recently been carried on involving the successful transfer of a section of a major artery from one laboratory animal to another (and, in at least one case, from a person who had just died to a living individual). And that is about all.

At various times, numerous foodstuffs have been interdicted as being responsible for degeneration of the heart and arteries, but no very clear case has ever been made. Special diets, like rice and fruit, or restricted salt intake, have been tried, with mixed results.

It has frequently been argued that people in certain parts of the world have a low incidence of heart disease and that their life habits should be studied to see why this is true. Unfortunately, the area where these lucky mortals are supposed to live is always where vital statistics are non-existent or highly unreliable, or one where most people die before reaching the sixth and seventh decades of life, the time at which coronary and cardiac troubles begin to take their greatest toll.

In view of these facts, medical authorities are very much interested in work recently done in the University of California at Berkeley by Dr. John W. Gofman and his associates. To understand the significance of this work, I must recall the facts about cholesterol, a chemical compound which occurs in the blood and in most of the body tissues.

Arteriosclerosis, the hardening and thickening of the arteries, is the most deadly of all types of "heart disease"; and atherosclerosis is both the commonest and the most serious of its forms. It has long been suspected that a high level of cholesterol and certain associated substances, in the blood, might be the cause of atherosclerosis, but a sharp dispute has raged among scientists as to whether this was true.

One group pointed to the fact that atherosclerosis could be induced in laboratory animals by feeding them a diet rich in cholesterol, and to the fact that human victims of the disease often showed an excess of the substance in the diseased areas of the wall of the blood vessel. Supporters of the opposite school pointed out, first of all, that while atherosclerosis can be induced in chickens and dogs, the laboratory animals that had been used in these experiments happened to be rabbits. Their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural diet is chiefly vegetarian, and contains very little cholesterol, which appears most plentifully in meat, cows' milk, hens' eggs, etc.

These skeptical authorities stoutly maintain that, while rabbits developing atherosclerosis also develop a high level of cholesterol in the blood, the vast majority of people with atherosclerosis do not show an abnormally high level. Such critics admit, however, that a small group of individuals, which includes diabetics, nephritics, people with hypothyroid conditions, and some presumably normal individuals, do show a high blood cholesterol and a tendency to develop earlier and more severe atherosclerosis than the general population. In short, what has hitherto been lacking has been something to tie together *all* the human groups which show atherosclerosis, regardless of the level of blood cholesterol—to say nothing of the atherosclerotic rabbit.

This is what seems to have been achieved by the work I am about to describe. Through these experiments it has been demonstrated that in the blood in all these groups there exists a class of molecules, *independent of the cholesterol level*, which appear to correlate with atherosclerosis.

The work that has been done is too complicated, extensive and technical to be reported here in detail. (It has been supported not only by the University of California but by the US Atomic Energy Commission and the US Public Health Service.) It has involved the use of an ultracentrifuge revolving at the rate of 60,000 times per minute and producing a force 200,000 to 300,000 times more powerful than that of gravity. It also involved radioactive isotopes, and is therefore another of the lengthening list of scientific achievements that are by-products of the cyclotron and the atomic pile.

Dr. Gofman and his associates were finally able to separate out from the blood serum of both laboratory animals and human beings giant molecules, each of which contained cholesterol. Among these giant molecules, they discovered types in both rabbit and human serum *almost invariably present in cases of atherosclerosis*.

This special type of molecule is much more common in men than in women; and atherosclerosis is also more common in men than in women. Tests on 600 people showed that it is more common in the old than in the young—it was found in 50 percent of persons beyond 40, the same percentage which shows the beginnings of atherosclerosis. It is more common in diabetics than among the healthy, and practically universal among people suffering from myocardial infarction, impairment of the heart resulting from obstruction of the chief arteries. These facts all support the view that this special type of molecule indicates the presence *or approach* of atherosclerosis.

It is of great practical importance that the special molecule appears in some people *who have a low cholesterol level*; before this work had been done, even a doctor who associated cholesterol with atherosclerosis would have told such a patient that he had nothing to worry about, whereas we now know that he may have plenty.

In other words, these experiments at the University of California seem likely to give us a highly important clue to the onset of atherosclerosis long before there is any symptom identifiable by the patient. The value of this needs no underlining. A shockingly large proportion of all the victims of heart disease die needlessly years before they should, because they did not know there was anything wrong with them until it was very late, perhaps too late. Every day the papers tell us of someone who has dropped dead without warning, under circumstances which indicate that he did not realize his circulatory system was impaired. (Very few of us, knowing we have bad hearts, would go out and play 36 holes of golf.) If the University of California technique can be made generally available, we shall be able to check the possible presence of the dangerous molecule of which cholesterol is a part, as a matter of normal routine, and to do so with increasing frequency as the individual approaches the dangerous fifties and sixties. When that molecule is found to be present, the individual will take the necessary steps.

But the researchers at the University of California go even farther. A group of 20 people, all of whom showed the dangerous molecule in their blood serum, were put on a diet restricted in cholesterol and fats. Says Dr. Gofman (I am translating him slightly from scientific into lay language): "Our preliminary study of [this group] has demonstrated that the concentration of the [dangerous] molecules is definitely reduced or even brought down to a level [too low to appear in the ultracentrifuge] *in 17 of the cases studied, within two weeks to one month.*" (Italics mine. – B. B.)

This would seem to support the contention of those who say that a rich diet, including excessive amounts of fat meat, cream, butter, eggs and similar substances, is associated with the onset of atherosclerosis. Public-health statistics around the world also give support to this opinion. It has been found that in countries which because of war or for other reasons are obliged to restrict foodstuffs, the death rate from degenerative diseases, including most types of heart and artery impairment, goes down. In summary then, the work of Dr. Gofman and his group seems likely to provide us, not only with a warning signal showing the onset of the most dangerous form of heart disease, but with a clue to what causes it to start, aiding both prevention and, in some cases at least, alleviation or cure.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Guilt by Dissociation*

THE CONSTITUTION and courts to the contrary notwithstanding, the most eminent and upstanding American citizen must accept the stigma of being a Communist if a creature such as McCarthy, or one of even a lower order, such as Budenz, says so. The latter-named person seems to have adopted a new avocation, that of jumping into any convenient witness box to charge decent citizens, on hearsay, with being what he himself was at one time—a Communist. Courageously he insists upon the protection that a subpoena and the taking of an oath will give him against possible libel suits. He shudders at the thought of having to prove the truth of his reckless charges. His role is that of "rumor-monger," perhaps even that of prevaricator, since he does not hesitate to stigmatize as a Communist such a man as Dr. Owen Lattimore, whom he had never met or seen and of whose voluminous writings he has hastily scanned only one book. According to him, if he says that you are a Communist because someone told him so, you only prove yourself the liar that a Communist is taught to be by denying that you are or ever were a member of the scuttling crew to which Budenz himself formerly belonged. He can prove guilt by dissociation.

Budenz says that he left the Communist Party five years ago, so that it has taken him all of that time to discover that Dr. Lattimore merits the reckless charges originally made by the brave McCarthy of Wisconsin from behind his Congressional immunity. Five long years before carrying this tall tale to the FBI with which Budenz was in close touch in order to betray comrades who had trusted him! Dirty business this, even for a self-confessed former Communist. Budenz explained that he did not want to make known what someone had told him about Lattimore through fear of being "bled white" by means of a libel suit. However, confidential communications to the FBI would not have subjected him to a libel suit.

Moreover, a former Communist who has repented of his sin might feel that it was his duty to put the FBI on the trail of a man so prominent in the Communist movement as he misrepresented Dr. Lattimore to be. He could not support the absurd charge of the egregious McCarthy that Lattimore was "the top Russian spy in the United States." This, according to Budenz, was "not technically accurate." Mr. Budenz had never seen Lattimore. He had never met Lattimore. All that he knew was hearsay. Someone had told someone that someone had said that Lattimore was supposed to be a Communist or something.

One may well ask by what right does a subcommittee of United States Senators allow the Senate to be used as a sounding-board by such a person as Budenz in a brazen attempt to blacken the reputation of a loyal citizen who deserves better at the hands of his country than the United States Senate is likely to give him in a privileged mud bath in public. I suggest to Senator Tydings and his associates that they investigate the election in Wisconsin in 1946 as a result of which McCarthy has become the "buddy" of such congenial spirits as Bridges of New Hampshire and McCarran of Nevada. McCarthy, at the time, was a Circuit Court judge. Contrary to a provision in the constitution of the state, he ran as a Republican in the Senatorial primary, without resigning from the bench, and defeated the experienced and able Robert M. LaFollette Jr. He won by a scant 5,500 votes.

Fortunately for McCarthy, if unfortunately for the dignity and prestige of the United States of America, Harold Christoffel, recently convicted of perjury for testifying falsely before a Congressional committee that he was not a Communist, was head of the powerful Allis-Chalmers UAW Local 248. This was the largest and strongest labor union in Wisconsin. It was dominated by Communists and left-wingers. It was Christoffel, together with two of his cronies, Robert Buse and Al Hirsch, who urged fellow members to register as Republicans and who threw the strength of their union, in a closely contested election, to McCarthy. Robert Buse succeeded Christoffel as president of the local, which continued to be Communist-dominated until President Philip Murray of the CIO finally cleaned it up.

Unfortunately, in the 1946 campaign, Murray, who publicly defended LaFollette against Communist attacks emanating from UAW Local 248, had not yet been able to purge this union. McCarthy might properly point to his own election in 1946, with Communist support, as a glaring example of the harmful influence of the Communists in the United States.

Is Senator Tydings' subcommittee interested in showing the association between this union of the reddish tinge and Christoffel and McCarthy, or is it more interested in keeping this information to itself for the protection of a fellow member who is a discredit to the Senate and who, knowingly or unknowingly, is working in the interest of Soviet Russia? The subcommittee has the power to subpoena. Will it act in the interest of truth and justice, regardless of where the chips may fall?

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE NATURAL SUCCESS OF "SEEDS OF TREASON"

by Merle Miller

REUBEN MAURY, editorial writer for the New York *Daily News*, seldom admits to much book-reading, but he felt compelled to tell the nearly two million people who buy the *News* that *Seeds of Treason*, by Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky, is a book no one of them should be without.

As this is written, George Sokolsky is cheerfully plugging the volume almost daily, and almost every other Hearst columnist has managed to work an endorsement into his or her copy. The *Reader's Digest* is following up its condensation of John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead* with a simplified version of "The True Story of the Hiss-Chambers Tragedy." A daily excerpt is being syndicated in the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and the Chicago *Tribune*, apparently disturbed because the book is selling only 2,000 copies a week, printed a lengthy *Trib*-style news story revealing the shocking fact that while the New York *Times* had dared review the book unfavorably, the *Herald Tribune* had not mentioned it at all. The *Tribune* explained the temerity of the former by revealing that Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *Times*, had once had Alger Hiss in his home as a dinner guest; as for the *Herald Tribune*, Colonel McCormick's paper said that reviewer Lewis Gannett's "attitude follows the same behavior pattern as it did upon publication of 'The Roosevelt Myth'." Gannett paid no attention to that either, which proved to the *Tribune* that he is a member of a Red-pink cell dominating New York book reviewing.

SEEDS OF TREASON: THE TRUE STORY OF THE HISS-CHAMBERS TRAGEDY, by Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky (Funk & Wagnalls; $3.50).

On the jacket of *Seeds of Treason* are enthusiastic quotes from such familiar and long-associated figures as Eugene Lyons, John Chamberlain and William L. White. Frank Farrell, a columnist who usually confines himself to night clubs, loved it, and Representative Richard M. Nixon of the House Committee on Un-American Activities called it a "must."

Of course, the subject is a natural. Alger Hiss was a State Department official *and* a New Dealer; even better, he was a friend of, among others, Dean Acheson and Felix Frankfurter, and he was found guilty of perjury and, indirectly, of espionage.

In documenting the gradual and unanswerable (at least unanswered) accumulation of evidence against Hiss, Lasky and Toledano have, with only occasional lapses into diatribe, stuck to the record. They seem to remember that they are, after all, reporters. If they had been content to stand on these facts, they might have written a valuable, persuasive and, as far as Alger Hiss is concerned, an utterly damning book—one, moreover, that might actually have contained some of the elements of high tragedy implied in the subtitle. But *Seeds of Treason* is much more—and, in another way, much less—than a report on the exposure of Alger Hiss. It is also a highly colored, biased, name-calling indictment of the New Deal.

For instance, Toledano and Lasky tell us, in a sentence that could easily have been written by Senator McCarthy, that the Hiss-Chambers case ". . . explains much, including the State Department's suicidal China policy, which turned over half of Asia to the Communists." The CIO is described as "Communist-tolerating." Soviet agents, we are informed, "were unwittingly aided by . . . men who had been taken straight out of the academic cloisters and who, thrown into positions of power, nourished romantic illusions that they were the new Machiavellis." Mentioned only once, Harry Hopkins is labeled "pro-Soviet." Hiss appears to have been almost solely responsible for the "betrayal" at Yalta. Why? He had a suspiciously impressive telephone number and he was once alone in a room with the "ailing" Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin. And, we are darkly reminded, "One of the first acts of the Roosevelt Administration had been to recognize the Soviet Union." What's more, Franklin Roosevelt "laughed" whenever the subject of Communist espionage came up; the origin of this information, like so much of the rest, is never revealed.

In dealing with that part of the Hiss-Chambers relationship which is not on the record, Toledano and Lasky explain that they have had to rely almost exclusively on the word of Whittaker Chambers; Hiss and his supporters, they hint, were all fools or liars or fellow travelers, or all three; anyway, they refused to help with the book.

Thus, Chambers emerges as a Jack Armstrong type. Even when he was a Communist agent, he was "emotion-motivated"; Hiss, on the other hand, was always "coldly calculating." Esther Chambers is simply a "slender, dark-haired" farmer's wife; Priscilla Hiss, ". . . full of aggressions, snobbish ambitions, unformulated desires." Worse yet, she was "always aching to help the oppressed." The fact that Chambers was by no means the most popular member of the staff of *Time* was due solely to the cabal of "the large Communist cell which flourished in the Luce empire." Perhaps the authors were being ironical when they describe Chambers' conversion to Communism. "Like Paul on the road to Damascus," they write, "he had seen the light." Stolen library books? Nonsense. He had only "borrowed" them from Columbia "without taking the librarian into his confidence." True, their hero lied at least three times under oath, but the authors find only that he came "perilously close to perjury," an odd legal point of view.

Seeds of Treason is also provided with a heroine. She is Elizabeth Bentley (familiarly called "Betty"). Like Chambers but unlike the "left-wing New Dealers," Betty can be forgiven not only for being a Communist but an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agent as well "because she seriously believed she was fighting Fascism."

Toledano and Lasky show no understanding of the intellectual history of the thirties. What's more, without a shred of evidence, they go far beyond the four months in 1938 involved in the Hiss trial. They insist on Alger Hiss's duplicity through the UN Conference at San Francisco and beyond, though they fail to explain why, if their allegation is true, he would have left the State Department for the Carnegie Foundation, where he must have handled a minimum of secret documents.

If Lasky and Toledano had scattered their shots less widely, their book might have had less praise in certain New Deal-baiting circles, but it might also have had more value as history.

As it is, those (and there are many) who still have honest and reasonable doubts about the guilt of Alger Hiss will have to wade through a good deal of prejudice to get at the facts that convinced a jury. Some of those facts are compelling. For example:

¶ When Chambers said the Hisses had loaned him $400, the Hisses admitted withdrawing the money from the bank but insisted that they had used it to furnish a home—one which, it was later shown, they had at the time neither rented nor seen.

¶ Mrs. Hiss insisted that she could not typewrite, although there was evidence that she had studied typing at Columbia University and personal letters typed by her were introduced.

¶ Hiss said, "Until the day I die I shall wonder how Whittaker Chambers got into my house to use my typewriter." If Hiss was telling the truth, Chambers not only used the typewriter to type 200 documents available only to Hiss and three other persons; he did it over a four-month period and made the same errors as those habitually appearing in the letters of Priscilla Hiss.

The authors conclude, "In all cases where Chambers' story is verifiable it checked; where Hiss's could be matched with the record, it didn't check." That sentence should read, "In *almost* all cases," but otherwise it can stand.

Three publishers have already announced books on the Hiss-Chambers trial, all three by highly competent reporters. If they look at the facts objectively, these writers will probably agree with Judge Henry W. Goddard, who told the jury that convicted Hiss, "You have rendered a just verdict." Also if their books are good ones, they will have in them both compassion and humility—qualities that are unhappily absent from *Seeds of Treason.*

Merle Miller is the author of That Winter *and* The Sure Thing.

BRIEF COMMENT

The Breast of the Dove, by Herbert Gorman (Rinehart; $3.50).

There are novels with stuffing. There are novels with bones. There are novels with neither. There are novels built like big stage sets and novels reminding you of those grandiose canvases of the past designed to praise a great personage coming into port or to celebrate the signing of a treaty.

The Breast of the Dove is a novel with stuffing; it is also big, like a stage set; it has some of the starchy feeling that a huge canvas on public subject matter gives you. But then, it is a historical novel, dealing with the tragic misadventures of Maximilian and Carlotta in Mexico. And, generally speaking, a historical novel must have "stuffing"—must be documented with the news of what once happened, and full of circumstantial life. Nevertheless, Herbert Gorman holds history at a too respectful arm's distance and characters who once upon a time were "real" are overweighted by the clothes of fact. Evidently he is freer and happier with those far more unpredictable characters, the imaginary.

All too often in the historical novel information becomes a substitute for imagination, and this is what happens here. Though Gorman has mastered the mechanics of that involved plot in which Maximilian and Carlotta became the victims of death and madness, the once-real doesn't become real again. It is a respectful job, well done, the big lumps of data competently leavened, with a good seasoning of subplots to garnish the dish. And yet the reader is outside the stately procession; it would appear that

Just Out

ANOTHER PAMELA

or,

Virtue Still Rewarded

by

Upton Sinclair

A master story-teller in a completely different kind of novel

THE VIKING PRESS

THE CREATOR of Lanny Budd has put global adventure aside to write this diverting novel of a modern Pamela and her adventures among the worldly inmates of a rich California household. With the best of fun, he tells her true-life story, following the style of the first great English best-seller.

In a series of letters to her mother and sister, she tells the story of her awakening to a bewildering world. Her battles against the seductions of the young master, a playboy of the twenties, provide a series of episodes that are comic, pathetic, and as true to life today as they were two hundred years ago; and they lead to the rewards of virtue just as they did in the eighteenth century.

It's an innocent's view of a crazy world—honest, good humored, and touching. $3.00

At all booksellers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the writer is too. As for the loves of emperors and empresses, is it not easier to write of the loves of gods? When Carlotta grieves over the death of her father, "who had refused the crown of Greece before he accepted that of Belgium," it is hard to believe in either grief or crown.

On the contrary, May Sarton's *Shadow of a Man* (Rinehart; $2.75) makes too free with the novel form. Here is the lyrical novel, or the novel of sensibility oversimplified. There is in it a general atmosphere of right thinking and good feeling about life and about, specifically, what a young man in the progress of his soul (from Boston to France and back) ought to do with life (and how he can cut himself from the silver cord); but being a novel of sensibility without, actually, a real situation, its wisdom and cultivation of spirit do not come to grips with any of the problems suggested by the education of the hero. He, being at odds with family and culture, must learn how to love, must learn what it is he wants to do with his life and talents. He learns: a French mistress, about his dead mother's age, and the *plein air* of Paris happily instruct him, so that he may return to the job and the girl at home. A young man is *found*, who had been *lost*. But all this spiritual enterprise is told from the surface, too glibly. At worst, it is woman's-magazine writing; at best, it treats of serious matters too easily. There is an engagement with history in *The Breast of the Dove* and all appointments are ritualistically kept. There does not seem to be any engagement in *Shadow of a Man* except with the fluidity of the eye that runs too quickly from subject to subject, giving none of them its sufficient due and density.

The Wager and Other Stories, by Daniel Corkery (Devin-Adair; $2.75), achieves what neither of the above books do: a sense of reality, both in language and feeling. Though Corkery is a dramatist, novelist and short-story writer well known in Ireland (he is one of the original members of the Irish Academy), this is his first publication here. The part of Ireland that he writes about—Munster and its adjacent sea, its coombs, crags, glens and cruel coasts—has much of the haunted power of a Yorkshire moor; his fishermen and plain folk are myth-obsessed, solitary, living out their destinies in some huger frame than that which modern (especially urban) man grants to himself. In these stories, at last, the imagination is present, the sentence is molded and modulated, not manipulated, and feeling penetrates and holds characters and events in its grip.

JEAN GARRIGUE

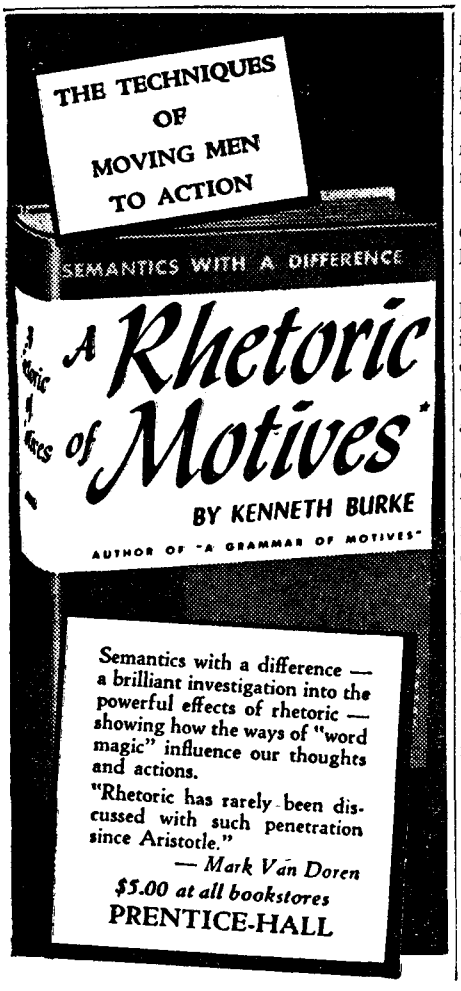
Men of Stones, by Rex Warner (Lippincott; $2.75).

Rex Warner has written a fantasy that might well be "real"; its effect therefore is less frequently that of an imaginary tale than of a factual report incognito. This element of dawning but defeated recognition gives the book the feel of a nightmare.

In an island prison of an unnamed country, the Governor has established himself as a ruthless deity, determining (without reference to any law other than his own caprice) the fate of the prisoners in his charge. This brilliant madman dreams and plots a kind of theocratic world revolution of which his prison regime is the model. Onto the island and across his path drift an assorted group of comparative innocents who become variously involved in the Governor's demonic dream. Among them is the Governor's younger brother, home after years in the concentration camps of another country where he has suffered the extremes of torment and degradation. His personal mission is to determine that the evil he has experienced (now incorporated in his brother) is not the whole of reality.

The book is consistently readable but only occasionally notable. The brothers are set up as natural antagonists, but their difference is so absolute that there is no ground on which they meet. The characters throughout are sketchy and are sacrificed to a novel of "ideas"; these ideas are expressed in terms which would formerly have been those of parable, but which in our time are terms of literal experience. A concentration camp isn't an effective symbol—except of itself. True the novel is often chilling, but more often it is just cold.

J. F.


THE TECHNIQUES OF MOVING MEN TO ACTION
SEMANTICS WITH A DIFFERENCE
A Rhetoric of Motives
BY KENNETH BURKE
AUTHOR OF "A GRAMMAR OF MOTIVES"
Semantics with a difference — a brilliant investigation into the powerful effects of rhetoric — showing how the ways of "word magic" influence our thoughts and actions.
"Rhetoric has rarely been discussed with such penetration since Aristotle."
— Mark Van Doren
$5.00 at all bookstores
PRENTICE-HALL

THEATRE

Barrie Wins Through

CONSIDERING the perishability of fantasy, the low esteem in which whimsy is now held and the knowing smiles of the recently analyzed, it must require a good deal of courage to offer "Peter Pan" today. Peter Lawrence and R. L. Stevens, producers of the current Jean Arthur-Boris Karloff revival, are suitably rewarded for their daring—they seem to have a hit on their hands.

But having taken the plunge with Barrie, it is too bad that the present backers then lost their nerve a bit and decided to help him along with a few ideas of their own. They engaged Leonard Bernstein to write "additional" lyrics and music, and hired a small male ballet troupe to fill out what they must have regarded as a thin evening. But the foxy Barrie needs no plumber's helpers, and "Peter Pan" is not thin; the additions merely slow up the action, clutter the stage with a number of unemployed merrymakers and from time to time overpower the innocence of the play with a "production number" vulgarity. Bernstein's contributions are the more unfortunate because they are the more obtrusive. His songs are not only unwanted; with one or two possible exceptions they are strikingly inferior. In particular, "Who Am I," inflicted on Wendy, who is otherwise touchingly played by Marcia Henderson, is a stale and cynical song-mill concoction. The settings, to get the rest of the trouble out of the way, are heavily jocose in the Disney toadstool manner and the mermaids are from Minsky.

Against these very real obstacles, Jean Arthur and Boris Karloff lead an admirable cast to triumphant success. It is astonishing that anyone today can be as beguiling a Peter as Miss Arthur. She plays the part with wonderful taste, neither kidding the sentimentality nor being seduced by it. She is frankly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boyish, unembarrassed and unembarrassing, evidently enjoying herself enormously. I cannot make comparisons because I did not see Maude Adams or even Marilyn Miller or Eva Le Gallienne in the role, but Miss Arthur is the right Peter for 1950. She lets Barrie supply the cuteness and confines herself to the matter-of-fact business of flying through space and conversing with fairies.

Karloff in the dual role of father and pirate builds his share of the evening almost to co-star stature. It is much too late to discover that the dreadful Mr. Karloff is a fine comic, but his fastidiously bloodthirsty Captain Hook will be convincing proof for anyone who may have missed "Arsenic and Old Lace." The lost boys of The Never Land are an engaging sandlots group, Joe E. Marks is ridiculously sprightly as Smee, the timid pirate, and Norman Shelly produces an air of lunatic solicitude in Nana, the children's St. Bernard nurse. His crocodile is a little dispirited, but it is a thankless role.

Despite its age and despite the meddling of well-meaning friends, "Peter Pan" is as shrewd and winning entertainment as Broadway is apt to offer this year, but it would be bad luck to see it on a night when either Miss Arthur or Karloff missed the performance.

ROBERT HATCH

Harold Clurman is at present in Europe. His first letter from Paris will appear here shortly.

ON THE AIR: Sarnoff and the Professors

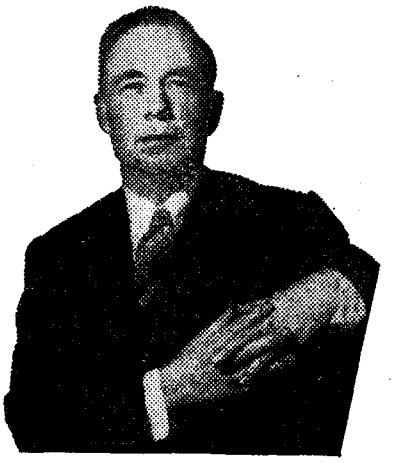
As THIS COLUMN is being written, a thousand educators, educational broadcasters and others interested in those two related fields are packing their bags for the annual pilgrimage to the Institute for Education by Radio, which Ohio State University conducts each spring at Columbus. There is one man, David Sarnoff, who should be there, and perhaps it isn't too late to smoke out an invitation for him. Sarnoff is a prime example, an advocate, and a handsome beneficiary of industrial, commercial and other types of bigness. Also he is by his own, probably overmodest, admission an "uneducated" man. But there are other facets to his personality.

In 1936, Sarnoff discovered that professional educators, avowedly interested in integrating broadcasting and pedagogy, are not unlike other men. On December 11 of that year, he appeared before the National Education Association convention in Washington to help point the way to union between radio and education. He mounted the platform with thoughtful speech in hand, but offered an alternative program to the assembled school administrators and teachers. Looking at his watch, he told them that within a matter of seconds they might hear the King of England discussing imperial romance. He announced that he had already had the hall wired for reception of those momentous words from Windsor Castle. The choice was up to the NEA, and the decision was unanimous. The radio brought the exciting words about "the woman I love"—and Sarnoff's speech was never heard.

Three years later, when President Roosevelt appeared before television cameras for the first time and Sarnoff was hailing the birth of TV at the New York World's Fair, he did get his chance to make his plea: "Now we add sight to sound . . . a new art so important in its implications that it is bound to affect all society. . . . It is a creative force which we must learn to utilize for the benefit of all mankind."

If educators heard those words, they made no response.

Two weeks ago, Sarnoff was still pitching. He was at the unveiling of a new NBC-TV program called "Watch the World." If you're interested in a newsreel that interprets unimportant clips with unimaginative comments by John Cameron Swayze, you may see this program any Sunday between 3:30 and four. That's what a small, select group of educators—about 20 of them—saw as guests of RCA and its NBC subsidiary when they came to the preview. The program, announced as NBC's contribution to educational TV, was a failure. Then Sarnoff, without a



New, Revised Edition

CORLISS LAMONT'S

The Illusion of Immortality

Introduction by
JOHN DEWEY

IS THERE A LIFE AFTER DEATH? This is an authoritative statement of why it is neither scientific, nor necessary for the good life, to believe in immortality.

Recognized by eminent scholars, theologians, philosophers and laymen as the outstanding American book that presents the unorthodox answer to this age-long question.

PROF. JOHN DEWEY: "It is an extraordinarily complete and well-informed discussion. The candor, the informed scholarship and the positive grasp of the various aspects and implications of the problem of immortality . . . make it worthy of the serious attention of all thoughtful persons."

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES: "Moves on a plane of serious inquiry. The author is concerned not with making a point but with finding the truth, and he reveals no trace of prejudice." *Illustrated. $3.95*

At your bookstore or directly from:

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
Publishers
15 EAST 40th STREET, DEPT. R
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

LAKEVIEW
IN THE MONADNOCK REGION
Private lake frontage, bathing, boating, fishing. For adults wishing restful vacations. Individual cottages or rooms. Private baths and other modern conveniences. Excellent food. Rates, double, from $100 per week.
For particulars write
BOX 77, MUNSONVILLE, N. H.

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
INFORMAL ADULT RESORT IN ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 90 — 14-MILE LAKE
TENNIS • FISHING • GOLF • MOTOR BOATING
HAY FEVER-FREE — OPEN THRU SEPT.
CONCERTS • ARTS & CRAFTS • LECTURES
New York Office: 250 West 57th Street, Circle 6-6386
• Louis A. Roth, Director •

STAGE PLAY

"Perfectly Wrought Drama"—Atkinson, Times
THE INNOCENTS
Based on Henry James' "The Turn of the Screw"
with BEATRICE STRAIGHT
PLAYHOUSE, 48th St. E. of B'way. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

BOOKS

TWO THOUSAND rare liberal and free-thought books collected over a period of 75 years to be sold by mail. Catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, New York 8, N. Y.

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

FOR SALE

IN W. CENT. N. H., fully restored red brick, colonial farmhouse, built 1795. 4 fireplaces, recessed windows, Chrstn doors, modern plumbing, spring water, landscaped, 35 acres, 7 miles small city. $10,500. Box 6, The New Republic.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German, Russian, by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational method. Save time, work, money. Send for FREE book. Linguaphone Institute, 86 Radio City, New York.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

POSITION WANTED

NATIVE, University graduate wishes position served by mature legal, social service or business experience; reference available. Box 5, The New Republic.

Resort Rates

- $6.75 per column inch for 26 insertions
- $7.50 per column inch for 13 insertions
- $8.25 per column inch for 6 insertions
- $8.75 per column inch (one-time rate)

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

script but with evident sincerity, made a few remarks.

As chairman of the board of RCA, he confessed that the men who invent, build and market TV sets—and those who plan the programs—are "not necessarily touched with magic or the divine spark in all fields." Broadcasting, he said, wants to use TV for educational purposes: "I should like you . . . of the world of education to know that the will is here; but we need your help." The point of view is in striking, and heartening, contrast to ones held by men like Commander Mortimer W. Loewi, director of the Du Mont Television Network, whose credo was expressed a year ago in the warning that "we are selling TV short when entertainment is allowed to dominate the schedule to the exclusion of a sales message well presented."

Sarnoff was probably the first American to see radio's possibilities. Back in 1916, when he was assistant traffic manager for the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company of America, he addressed a memorandum to his boss about something that was clearly none of his business. In that memo he forecast the possibility of using radio for the broadcast of music, lectures and public events "within a radius of 50 miles" to people outside large centers. If such "music boxes" were made, Sarnoff boldly guessed, the sales might reach 1,000,000 within three years.

In the next decade he became a regular attendant at Secretary of Commerce Hoover's annual radio conferences, called for the purpose of trying to find out what to do with the giant baby of the air waves. Sarnoff was a staunch advocate of rules forbidding "direct" advertising over the air. It was only in 1926, when that cause was hopelessly lost, that he reversed himself.

Certainly, Sarnoff comes as close as anyone else in broadcasting to the healthy doctrines laid down by the most advanced members of the Federal Communications Commission—Chairman Wayne Coy and Frieda B. Hennock. What he has been saying all these years is what Miss Hennock meant when she wrote, in a formal opinion:

> It would, I think, result in tragic waste from the standpoint of public interest if, at the outset of development in this field, adequate provision were not made for the realization of the limitless possibilities of television as a medium of visual education.

The educators mean well, but they're not backing up the broadcasters on the non-commercial side of their own fence, nor are they taking enough advantage of the reservoir of excellent intentions among the money boys. To the cynics among the schoolmen there is an obvious answer: Why not call the bluff?

The Ohio Institute has been talking for twenty years. I think it ought to listen this year. Coy and Miss Hennock are on the program. Sarnoff should be added. He may still have a copy of that 1936 speech.

SAUL CARSON

MUSIC: The Durable Puccini

THE New York City Opera Company staged the first New York production in twenty years of "Turandot," Giacomo Puccini's last opera, at the City Center on April 6, as a belated contribution to this season's solemnization of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the composer's death. Apparently determined to extend its reputation by selecting bigger operas than it ought to attempt, the young company received a surprising degree of public success with a work the Metropolitan abandoned because of the extreme difficulty of mounting it.

"Turandot" is based on an innocent fable by Carlo Gozzi. But Puccini's eagerness to provide the Italian stage with another exotic spectacle like "Aïda" led him to transform a bit of *chinoiserie* into an extravaganza of monumental scale. The story recounts the exploit of Prince Calaf, who wins the hand of the lovely but distant Princess Turandot by solving three riddles that had baffled countless previous suitors and sent them to their death. The climax of the opera occurs in the Riddle Scene (Act II, Scene 2), when the icy Princess, surrounded by the Emperor's court, hurls the riddles at Calaf in imperious fashion, and bewails his victory with great high C's screamed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

above an enormous volume of choral and orchestral tone.

When "Turandot" was given at the Metropolitan, between 1926 and 1930, Maria Jeritza stood high up on a staircase that filled the entire depth and height of the stage, with her flamboyant thirty-foot train cascading down the steps below. The whole visual aspect of the production—in the other scenes as well—was calculated to enhance the impression of immensity given by the uniformly high and loud music. Even the Metropolitan seemed too small for it; it needed the block-deep stage of La Scala in Milan.

What we saw on the shallow stage of the City Center was obviously not "Turandot" at all. H. A. Condell's settings were gay and witty and imaginative, but they were cute instead of majestic. In the Riddle Scene, the Princess entered through a door so low she had to calculate carefully in order not to knock off her headdress. There were four picayune steps; but Vladimir Rosing, the stage director, made her descend to Calaf's level to deliver the riddles, thus destroying the requisite sense of remoteness. The crowds cramped the stage to the point of suffocation, and Charles Weidman's dancers, performing irrelevant Tartar clichés, imposed a further strain upon the floor space. In the opening scene of the opera, no light illuminated the Princess when she came out onto her balcony, presumably to reveal her beauty for the first time to the astounded Calaf. This oversight may have been deliberate, since Dragica Martinis, a young soprano imported from the Belgrade Opera for the occasion, is short, rather on the dumpy side, and far from regal in bearing.

Yet this "Turandot" performance was a rousing success, and for reasons that were elementary. Everyone in the cast could, at least in some measure, sing Puccini's music. Miss Martinis, still in a raw state artistically, revealed a sturdy, rich voice that could withstand an evening's shouting without appearing to become tired. Giulio Gari, whom nobody had noticed especially in his previous assignments at the City Center, sang the tenor music of Calaf with force and assurance, and at times developed a velvety quality that recalled Beniamino Gigli. The audience was greatly stirred by the rousing sounds that came from the stage. Two extra performances of "Turandot" were promptly added to the five-week spring schedule.

The triumph of this misbegotten version of "Turandot" was, in a reverse-English way, an impressive tribute to the powers of its composer. Admittedly, the longevity of Puccini's operas is not the result of any patrician qualities in their music. Puccini was no Mozart, no Bizet, no Verdi. But he was gifted with a spontaneous theatrical instinct that rarely deserted him, and he could translate intense emotions into music that was rhetorically effective and placed for the voices with wonderful shrewdness.

From "Manon Lescaut" to "Turandot," all the Puccini operas are tough-skinned. Inadequate performances cannot kill them. We may not believe in the Japanese mincings and naval philanderings of "Madama Butterfly," but we cannot resist the credibility that Puccini's music maintains in every nuance. Mimì in "La Bohème" may be fat and aging, but Mimì's music, with its fragile pathos, persuades us to look beyond the external things we see and hear.

For more than fifty years, musical bluestockings have called Puccini's music meretricious and trivial, and have deplored the taste of those who prefer it to Mozart or Wagner. But in spite of its exclusion from college courses in music appreciation, it is still indispensable to the operatic repertory. What every opera house needs most is a supply of operas that can be counted upon to make their points no matter who sings and acts in them. Except for Verdi, perhaps, Puccini provided a larger number of indestructible scores than any other composer for the theatre. Even Wagner's music dramas can be damaged much more readily by third-class performers.

The anniversary celebration of Puccini's death—begun by the Metropolitan's revival of the early but strong and vigorous "Manon Lescaut," and ended by the "Turandot" production at the City Center—has demonstrated that it is time to take Puccini seriously, and to place a higher valuation on his achievements than we have in the past. For he was a master craftsman, and there have not been many of them in the whole history of opera.

CECIL SMITH

RESORTS

HOSPITALITY UNLIMITED
OPENS MAY 26th
ALL SPORTS... ENTERTAINMENT
NEW OFFER
SPECIAL SPRING RATE
$50 per week throughout
Write for details
Easy To Reach By Bus, Train or Taxi Service
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults
HIGHLAND LAKE
Stoddard, New Hampshire
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation • Gay, informal atmosphere • ENJOY Beautiful Highland Lake 10 miles long • ALL Land and Water Sports • Interesting Hiking Objectives thru Woodland Trails • Square and Folk Dancing • 4 hours by train from New York.
Special rate of $45 for Opening Week, June 24-July 1
Regular Season Rates: $55, $60 & $65 weekly
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Until May 15 write Dept. R,
237 BEACH 141 ST., BELLE HARBOR, N. Y.
or Phone BEllo Harbor 5-1959

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a vacation paradise. Magnificent private lake. All seasonal sports. Varied indoor activities. Television. Roaring fireplaces. Superb accommodations and cuisine. Moderate rates. Make early reservations for a delightful spring vacation or weekend.

ARROWHEAD LODGE
FOR DECORATION DAY WEEK-END
hear Johannes Steel
Orchestra • Entertainment
Excellent Tennis Courts
RESERVE NOW
City phone: GR 7-1267 Ellenville 502
ELLENVILLE, NEW YORK

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly, informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, records, ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Opens May 12
Rates: $40-$45. 65 miles from New York City
JANE C. ARENZ R.D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 346-J-2

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL DECORATION DAY WEEK-END
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 West 42nd Street. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Articles Soon to Appear in the New Republic

Who Should Administer Point Four?

■ Billions will soon be spent on the program for President Truman's famous **Point** Four. Should this be done by the United States, which has money, trained administrators, technical skill? Or by the UN, where administration is divorced from power politics, where many countries can participate, where the best brains of the whole world can be drawn upon? In a striking article, **Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel sums up** the argument on both sides—and gives his own view.

What Hope for World Government?

■ In a recent issue of the *New Republic,* Elmer Davis gave his reasons for believing that world government is not within the realm of the possible, or the desirable, in the light of present world conditions. Alan Cranston, President of United World Federalists, answers Mr. Davis in a statement, "Federalism and Faith, Mr. Davis!"—to which Mr. Davis gives his counter-rebuttal.

Is the Price of Steel Too High?

■ When the steel industry settled its recent strike, it promptly proceeded to raise its prices. Was this increase justified? What effect will it have on national prosperity? What has been happening to steel profits? What significant guess about the future has been made by the leaders of the industry? Louis Bean, distinguished Washington economist, answers these questions in an article to appear soon.

Manners and Morals: 1950

■ What is the real significance of the Kinsey Report? Of the popularity of Ayn Rand's "The Fountainhead"? Of the revival of interest in F. Scott Fitzgerald? Why does this country need "a good five-cent ideology"? What changes are being brought about by the increase in working women? By the reëvaluation of the "success system"? These and other matters are discussed by Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, brilliant Harvard anthropologist, in a forthcoming article.

If a Bomb Fell on Washington

■ What would happen if a uranium or hydrogen bomb were to be dropped on the nation's capital? Is it possible to decentralize the federal government sufficiently to offset the danger of such a thing? What are the chief problems, advantages and disadvantages of decentralization? Ray M. Stroupe discusses these matters in an article to be published soon.

Hot Spot in Indo-China

■ One of the world centers of conflict today is French Indo-China. How is the war going there? What are the chances for decisive victory on either side? How do the non-Communist Vietnamese feel about the French? Frank Robertson reports from the scene, in a forthcoming article.

THE NEW REPUBLIC • 40 East 49 Street • New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED